1: Gifford

OU9 Tonga OU9

554
589
831
884

[For information on the status of virgins, see Category 836.]

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only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala*, the *tua* men wore a *vala* of *losi* leaves, called *sisi losi*, but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty-stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward show of respect, the *taovala*, an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala*. young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *longangatu*, ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fastened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood (some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohibited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the billiard-like game called *lafo*. If caught playing this game they would be punished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou*. If passing a chief, he would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dismount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, successful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring.

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a commoner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen. X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was

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is to be found in the story of Tui Tofua (*26*, p. 77), one version of which specifically states that the first-born sons were Tui Tofua's associates.

A chief's virgin daughter seems to have been called *taupoou*, a Samoan term which is probably equivalent to the Tongan *taahine*. Girls, classed as *taupoou*, at times took part in dances, sometimes leading, and usually wore finer garments than their dancing associates. The *taupoou* or *taahine* chewed and made kava for visiting high chiefs. She did no cooking, but might sweep the interior and the immediate exterior of the house. Orange juggling was one of her pastimes. There seems to have been no official *taupoou* as in Samoa.

The term *manaia* (a man particularly successful in love affairs) which in Samoa is applied to the chief's son, apparently is not used in Tonga as a title, though evidence is conflicting, but is used in personal names. If *manaia* and *taupoou* were recognized positions in Tonga, undoubtedly early writers would have mentioned them.

Among special names for girls of rank those referring to the *lupe* or large fruit pigeon (*Globicera pacifica*) were often used. Two examples of such names for chiefly girls are Lupefolau and Lupepauu.

Special care was taken of the complexion of girls of rank. The following processes were used: (a) *kaukautuitui*, the rubbing of the entire body with chewed candle nut (*tuitui*); (b) painting of entire body, excluding lips, with a mixture (*valienga*) of *lolo* oil and turmeric (*enga*). This was done twice a week on alternate weeks and after several hours was washed off, and the skin dressed with oil, to produce a smooth glistening surface; (c) keeping in shade to prevent sunburn.

After bathing a chief's daughter previous to her retiring, her female attendants chew scented fruits and flowers, and mixing the masticated material with scented oil rub it over her body.

A chief's daughter wore her hair long on every part of the head, and braided the side strands over the ears.

The female attendants upon the daughter of a chief did not allow her to eat too much. This tapu was enforced to prevent the overdevelopment of her abdominal region.

When a chief's daughter ate or sat in her house, she was surrounded by a mat screen and seated on a high cushion (*fakamolu*) composed of mats and soft tapa. The purpose of the soft cushion was to keep the skin of her upper legs and buttocks soft and smooth, unblemished by any hard thickness or marks that might result from sitting on a hard surface.

A treatment applied only to the daughters of high chiefs is called *fakatafa*. After an evening bath and oiling from head to feet, the girl's legs were tied together just above the knees with a piece of fine soft tapa, and she was

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A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

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sees many things in a muddled dream they do not come true. The period that elapses between a dream and its fulfilment is variable—it may be a week or it may be several months.

A sickness called *fafanga*, which is manifested by a "bad stomach" and results in "doubling up" or even death, is caused by dreaming that a man comes and feeds the dreamer pork, fowl, and other rich food.

A sickness called *takini*, painful urination, is believed to be caused by the frequent dreaming of sexual intercourse. The belief is that the visitant of the dreamer is a spirit (*tevolo*).

MAGIC

Most of the extant magical practices are to be found in the formulas of the *faitoo* (doctors). Material presented here includes odds and ends of magical practices not largely concerned with curing. Malevolent magic is still practiced. Spoken words were believed to be effective too. Thus the term *talatukii* means to curse, to use imprecations so deadly and horrible, that the person against whom they were directed usually died from the effect.

Any medicine man or woman was called *faitoo*. The house of a *faitoo* was called *falehangatamaki*. One informant said that this house was only that of a *faitoo* who treated boils and skin eruptions, and this statement is probably correct, as *hangatamaki* means any sickness or disease appearing upon the surface of the body. When confronted with a sickness about whose diagnosis he was in doubt, a *faitoo* passed his hands over the diseased part, repeating a formula which named every possible disease known and directed the medicine to cure any one or all of them. (See p. 343.)

When collecting the bark of the *tava* and *siale* (*Gardenia*) for medicine the collector always observes which part is towards the setting sun and collects the bark from that side. It is believed to be particularly efficacious, though no reason was given.

One informant stated that his father had buried his umbilical cord and planted a coconut over it. As the tree flourished, so would the individual. I could get no corroboration of this as a practice. No other account of tree planting was obtained. Possibly fear that the tree might be killed and the person suffer make people reticent.

The story of the turtle Sangone mentions the magical stopping of growth and retention of childhood by striking a child on the top of the head (26, p. 50).

When a child's milk tooth is extracted it is thrown on the roof of a house, so that the second tooth will grow quickly. At the same time this rhyme is said:

Hinehina matailaila	White with spots
Omai hoo nifo kovi mooku	Give me your bad tooth
Kae o atu hoo nifo lelei moou.	But have a good tooth for yourself.

That there is a ceremonial or lucky number in Tonga I did not definitely ascertain. That there was, or is, such a number seems likely and it may

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kept up a considerable time*. The dancing being over, one of the old matabooles addressed the company, making a moral discourse on the subject of chastity,—advising the young men to respect, in all cases, the wives of their neighbours, and never to take liberties even with an unmarried woman against her free consent. The company then rose, and dispersed to their respective homes. The bride was not present at this entertainment. Tooitonga being arrived at his house, sent for the bride, who immediately obeyed the summons. The moment they retired together the lights were extinguished, and a man, appointed at the door for the purpose, announced it to the people by three hideous yells, (similar to the war whoop,) which he followed up immediately by the loud and repeated sound of the conch.

* Their dances have already been described by Captain Cook and others, the account is therefore omitted here not to interrupt the narrative: for further particulars see the second volume.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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nature, which is universally prevalent among the men as well as the women, and which is plainly depicted in the countenances of most of them. Taking all things into consideration, we must not venture to call them a humane people; but, on the contrary, to say they were cruel would certainly be making use of too harsh a term.

The next subject we shall consider is chastity. In respect to this, their notions are widely different from those of most European nations; we must, therefore, first examine what are their own ideas respecting this matter, and if they are such as are consistent with public decorum and due order and regularity in the social state, without tending to enervate the mind or debase the character of man, we shall take those ideas as the standard by which to judge them, and as far as they act consistently thereto we shall call them chaste, and as far as they infringe upon it we shall deem them offenders. But here it may be asked how are we to judge whether their own notions upon this subject are consistent with the good order of society, &c. To this we can make no other answer than by referring to the actual state of society there, and pointing out those evils which may be supposed to arise from their wrong notions upon this subject.

In the first place, it is universally considered

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586 may also do without the least reproach or the
587 least secrecy. From this circumstance we may
836 draw an argument in favour of the chastity of
837 the women generally, for if they were of a dif-
581 ferent character it is natural to suppose that
[831] very few would marry, except those who, when very young, were betrothed to chiefs, and consequently married independently of their consent: but we find that three times that number are actually married: and as many are married three, four, or five times, it cannot be from an unchaste, libertine, or wandering disposition on the part of the women, seeing that when once divorced they may remain single if they please, and enjoy all the liberty that the most libertine heart can desire. If now it be asked, "Why then do they marry?" The answer is, for love of one object, with the idea that the object of their affections will *always* make them happy; and if they are disappointed in one instance they are willing to try it in a second, a third, &c.: in short, it would appear that the force of sentimental affection blinds them to the probability of a disappointment, and they willingly make a generous sacrifice of their liberty to prove the strength of their attachment*.

836 As to those women who are not actually mar-

832 * The position, that every woman is at heart a rake, does not appear to hold true in the Tonga islands.

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sidered an outrage, is not looked upon as a crime, unless the woman be of such a rank as to claim respect from the perpetrator.

When all things are taken into consideration regarding the connubial system of these people, their notions of chastity, and their habits in respect of it, we shall have no reason to say but what they keep tolerably well within those bounds which honour and decency dictate*;

* It may be objected that such habits as we have been describing must often lead to a disregard of public decency, and which therefore must be very bad for the morals of the younger branches of society of both sexes, by making them acquainted with what they ought not to have any idea of, before the voice of nature whispered the important secret. In reply to this, we must observe, that no nation can well pay greater attention to public decency than the Tonga people: but at the same time we acknowledge, that conversation is often intermingled with allusions, even when women are present, which could not be allowed in any decent society in England: this, however, is never done if married women, or chiefs superior to the speaker, are near; because it would be disrespectful: but such subjects are not the result of depraved notions, they are rather the offspring of the imagination, and occasionally hazarded as vehicles of joke and humour. Notwithstanding this, the blush of female modesty suffuses the cheek in these islands as well as elsewhere, although the occasion of it is not so much considered an offence: though the females are very deficient in artificial modesty, they amply make up for it by the more genuine feeling of natural bashfulness. Those among us whose morality is almost skin deep, and who make a vast account of outside appearances, will perhaps condemn them for this.

In respect to children of both sexes, it must be acknow-

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831 182 and if it be asked what effect this system has upon the welfare and happiness of society, it may be safely answered, that there is not the

831 182 864 ledged that they become acquainted with such subjects at a very early age. Nevertheless, a young female, (suppose 8, 9, or 10 years old), conducts herself with becoming modesty, and any indecent allusion would put her to the blush. She possesses a kind of modest pride, which she probably copies from the example of her mother, or else it is her natural bashfulness, or perhaps both, which generally constitutes the safeguard of her chastity, till the affections of the heart growing ripe with riper years, she at length listens to the solicitations of her lover. In regard to the boys, Mr. Mariner never observed nor heard of any pernicious effect in their conduct, resulting from too early an acquaintance with these matters. When no secret is made, what is there to excite any farther inquiry? But if the subject be involved in mystery, it seizes strong hold of the mind; it becomes a frequent topic of discourse; and, what is worse, the curious inquirer is not contented with partial hearsay evidence, he has recourse to experience; for as long as any thing is concealed from him, he is restless and dissatisfied; and when he knows all that he *can* know, it will be, probably, at a period much more early than is proper: but in what other way can we account for the facts? Mr. Mariner saw no men at Tonga, nor did he hear of any, who made debauchery the business of their lives: on the contrary, they were wrestlers, racers, boxers, and club-fighters, strong, well made men, with fine swelling muscles. Another circumstance must be noticed, as connected with morality, and that is, personal cleanliness, in which no nation can excel (without ridiculous refinement) the people of these islands; and it is not unworthy of observation, that personal cleanliness sometimes argues cleanliness of mind and idea. As to certain preposterous habits, which so disgrace the moral character of nations west of them, and which have been said to infect the natives of some of the

831 182 [515] [171]

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least appearance of any *bad* effect. The women are very tender, kind mothers, and the children are taken exceeding good care of: for even in case of a divorce, the children of any age, (requiring parental care), go with the mother, it being considered her province to superintend their welfare till they grow up; and there is never any dispute upon this subject. Both sexes appear contented and happy in their relations to each other. As to domestic quarrels, they are seldom known; but this must be said to happen rather from the absolute power which every man holds in his own family: for even if his wife be of superior rank, he is nevertheless of higher authority in all domestic matters, and no woman entertains the least idea of rebelling against that authority; and if she should, even her own relations would not take her part, unless the conduct of her husband were undoubtedly cruel. That the men are also capable of much paternal affection, Mr. Mariner has witnessed many proofs, some of which have been related; and we have already mentioned that filial piety is a most important duty, and appears to be universally felt.

Upon these grounds we would venture to

South Sea islands, we must do the Tonga people the justice to say, that they have not the most remote idea of any thing of the kind.

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say, that the natives of these islands are rather to be considered a chaste than a libertine people, and that, even compared with the most civilized nations, their character in this respect is to be rated at no mean height; and if a free intercourse could exist with European society, it is a matter of great doubt (whatever might be the change in their sentiments), if their habits or dispositions in this respect would be much improved by copying the examples of their instructors. If, on the other hand, we compare them to the natives of the Society islands, and the Sandwich islands, we should add insult to injustice.

We have thus endeavoured to give a just and impartial view of these people, as far as regards their notions and practices of the most important points of morality, trusting that the account will be found useful and interesting. A great deal more might, no doubt, have been said; but the farther we enter into minutiæ upon such a subject, the more we are likely to form an erroneous opinion; whilst the general outlines may be given without so much danger of being deceived; and what may be thought imperfect in this sketch, the intelligent reader will be able to supply according to his own judgment, by his attentive perusal of other parts of the work. If, for instance, it be ob-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 836 302 585 565 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making a lowlier match. (See No. 439.)

539 262 585 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 584 571 888 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.

Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in" where he is not wanted.

539 584 829 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish about.

This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 584 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome *'Eiwahia* Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[574] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] [284] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencumbered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment. [826] [831]

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

as well as the men. The structure of society provided in practice the independence of women, which is the dream of some modern feminists. It is necessary for the European to rid his mind of associations of nastiness in dealing with these matters, and to remember that the Polynesian receives the facts connected with the handing on of human life with the same simple candour as the phenomena observed in his garden or anywhere else. I have overheard a man, whose domestic life is impeccable judged by strict European standards, discussing the numerous loves of a famous chiefly lady of bygone days, and his comment was what an extraordinarily fine woman she must have been to be desirable in the eyes of so many husbands, to all of whom she bore children.

In general it was probably an honour for a girl to attract the attention of a chief of high rank, and apart from marriages marked by the elaborate exchange of gifts, there were many less formal unions, which did not lead to a girl becoming a regular inmate of a chief's compound. A girl who is taken to a chief is sometimes said to "roll his mat," indicating her duty of rolling up the sleeping-mats and making herself generally useful about the person of her lord. A village used sometimes to select a beautiful maiden to be the temporary mate of a chief, and bear them a babe of lofty lineage. The child was called by a special name indicating that he belonged to the whole village. Children are desired by both men and women. In the marriage ceremonies described in Tukuaho's diary there is a blessing of the bride, "And may you bear children, yea twins."

For a man to succumb to the attractions of a girl of inferior rank is not uncommon, but for a woman to condescend to an inferior is rare; or it may be expressed in another way, that a man would scarcely dare aspire to a lady of superior station to himself. Such aspirations would be resented by other men as offensively presumptuous. This led to the frequent marriage of the female Tui Tonga, the highest woman of all excepting her own daughter, to a foreigner. It is only in a comparatively recent period that the genealogies exhibit certain cases of the marriage of this august lady, and in these instances the bridegroom always belongs to one or two houses of Fijian extraction. The first recorded marriage of a female Tui Tonga is to a chief who actually came from Fiji; but the outside blood once introduced sufficed to give the house enough of foreignness to exempt its members from the restrictions that bound the Tongan, and to provide bridegrooms for the exalted brides. This lady must have been so restricted in the choice of a husband as to have been generally a strict monogamist. It was not uncommon for the wife of a chief to obtain other wives for him, usually it would seem, selected from amongst her own younger female relatives over whom she had power or influence. These secondary brides were

18: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1923 OU9 Tonga OU9

595 622 The rank of the children of the various wives of a chief depended on that of their mothers. In the case of two wives of equal rank the elder normally took precedence of the younger, and her children over those of the younger woman. A wife might so win her husband's affections as to cause him to grant precedence to her children over those of an elder woman of equal rank, but favouritism could scarcely avail to elevate the children of a specially beloved wife above those of a higher chieftainess. A special term was used for the principal wife.

831 832 [778] [776] [585] [554] Many stories are told of handsome men, called *mana'ia*, possessed of *mana*, supernatural power, whose charms were irresistible to the ladies. The patron of these boudoir knights was Jimilau, the god of beauty, whose gift their handsome persons were, and who were themselves sometimes even called Jimilau. The custom obtained, and is more or less perpetuated in modern marriages, for a maiden to present a particular mat to the man to whom she gave her virgin love, and the prestige of the *mana'ia* was in proportion to the number of these trophies he had won.

The *mana'ia* was prepared for his amorous calling with the carefulness of an aspirant to a learned profession or an athletic championship. His friends and relatives, male and female, omitted no attention that should increase his attractiveness. All that was demanded of him was that he should look well, and fascinate the [554] ladies. High rank, though valued, was not indispensable; but it is [565] obviously improbable that the profession of lover could have been open to men of very humble birth. Even personal courage and 831 prowess were not essential—merely good looks. The name and fame 832 of notable male beauties are perpetuated in tale and proverb, and 538 extraordinary sway over ladies' hearts is ascribed to them. It is related that a chieftainess was about to be married to a great lord; the nuptials indeed had commenced, and the guests were seated on [304] the first evening of the ceremonies in a house with the bride. A specially favoured *mana'ia*, who desired the girl for himself, thrust his hand, on which was tattooed a distinctive mark, through a hole [584] in the thatch roof. The bride-elect, thus apprised of who awaited her without, slipped from the house, and eloped with the *mana'ia*. [554] I am told that the *mana'ia* had no real status in Tongan social organisation; but that families forwarded the interests of their handsome men merely to assist them to form advantageous connections, and collect large quantities of mats and cloth, in which they all might share. The first holder of the great Tungi title was [555] called Tungi Mana'ia, and tradition ascribes his elevation to exalted [644] rank to his personal attractiveness, but the genealogies show that this is a mistaken notion, as in his veins flowed the highest chiefly blood of Tonga. The present Tungi is the consort of the reigning Queen.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

The political constitution of the country was that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions were also recognised under each of these orders, and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through the females; who sometimes, although rarely, held the reins of government in their own right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

It must, however, be observed, that the succession of rank through the mother originated, probably, in the great licence existing between the sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

gard to the mother. Thus this custom, springing though it did from one evil state of society, would naturally tend to prevent another, by placing the female part of the Tonguese population in that comparatively easy and honoured position, which they seem to have held from time immemorial.

The kingly authority extended over life, liberty, and property. It was a complete despotism, modified to some extent by certain customs, or well established regulations, which, having come down from ancient times, and being generally useful, were considered in the light of a traditionary code. It was also guarded somewhat by the influence of a certain coterie of the higher chiefs, called by way of eminence the *kau matua*, or "old men" of the land, whom the king was expected to consult on all matters of state or government. The lives of many of the rulers were stained with the usual crimes of heathenism, and were passed in the midst of wars and dissensions. The succession to regal power was regulated by certain well known laws or principles. It did not necessarily devolve upon the eldest son, or to the nearest of kin to the reigning monarch. The nomination of a successor was made by the departing ruler, when circumstances admitted of it, and was confirmed or otherwise by the decision of the *kau matua*, and then by the great body of the chiefs. Thus a brother might succeed to the government, to the total exclusion, for the time being, of the immediate children of the deceased or dethroned ruler. The selection of a king, however, was restricted wholly within the limits of the *Hau*, or blood royal line. But, even in such a case, we need not wonder that schemes and contests for regal power led to scenes of

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

extent, and form the chief source from whence evils arise, among church members, which require the exercise of discipline by the Missionaries.

The morals of the Tonguese were never so thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or Society Islanders, and other groups that might be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to show how low humanity could fall, when without the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith. Polygamy was common, the number of a man's wives depending upon his own inclination, and his ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to have bordered on morality; for, after the parties had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was considered disgraceful to separate. There were also some, even among the better classes, who were content to live with one wife only; and examples of domestic happiness were by no means uncommon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history, and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation. Children were nurtured with great care and affection; and aged people were not subjected to the neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet, with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and want of natural affection.

There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

disorder; but I believe the most destructive is a Europæan one introduc'd amongst them most probably by the ships that visited them in 1773, which has already begun to make fatal ravages amongst them, many having lost their voice and great part of their noses, though it should be observ'd they have a disease amongst themselves that affects the nose, but only destroys the lower part of the sides wheras the other fixes chiefly about the bony part. The injury these people have receiv'd from us by communicating this certain destroyer of mankind is not to be repair'd by any method whatever: for it is not barely depriving them of life at last that forms the greatest part of the misfortune, but it is by rendering them completely miserable while alive from their not knowing how to stop its progress, and depriving them at the same time of that intercourse between the sexes which most probably is a principal ingredient of happiness in a country where custom has laid but little restraint upon it, and religion has not branded it with the name of a crime. The man who has rob'd, murder'd and been guilty of all the Catalogue of human crimes is innocent when compar'd to the one who did such a thing knowingly. An adequate punishment may be found perhaps for a fault, however heinous, that may be comitted upon an individual, but is it in the power of man to invent tortures equal to those felt by a whole nation that the aggressor in this case might be properly repay'd? Humanity itself must startle at the thought of making a single object miserable in this respect, even for a short time, but what must be said when we reflect that in the present circumstance the misery is not only entaild upon thousands who now live but must of necessity be convey'd to endless generations?[1]

There are two other diseases which make themselves to be noticd from their frequency, one of which is an indolent firm swelling or

[1] Anderson's indignation and despair are very comprehensible; but it really seems that they were needless. Yaws and syphilis seem to live together very uncommonly, and never in the same person: and Tonga had plenty of yaws. Anderson has already noticed one stage of it. It would certainly do the damage to the nose he has also noticed. S. M. Lambert's *A Doctor in Paradise* (N.Y., 1941), pp. 30–32, referred to in I, p. 99, n. 4 gives a vivid discussion of the matter. Mariner's editor Dr Martin very much suspected the truth—Mariner, II, p. cvii. Mariner could hear of only one case of either venereal disease in his time in the islands—of a Ha'apai woman who had connexion with a French sailor, 'became on fire (as they expressed it), and died afterwards in a very bad state: and this was all that he learned respecting what might reasonably be supposed to be true syphilis'.—ibid., p. cvi–cvii. Of Tongatapu in 1793, only sixteen years after Cook's visit, Labillardière writes, 'We remarked no symptom of venereal disease among these islanders; nevertheless, one of our sailors caught a gonorrhœa there, but from a woman that had had a connexion with a man belonging to the Espérance, who had been long infected with this disorder. Are these people then so fortunate, that this contagion, after having rapidly run through its different stages, has naturally become extinct among them? For from the testimony of Captain Cook, there can be no doubt that it formerly made great ravages in this country.'—*Account of a Voyage*, II, p. 183. We must believe that Cook and Anderson were mistaken; but it is interesting that the French saw no yaws either on this visit. Cf. pp. clix–clxi above.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& twirl it about with great celerity so as not to let the balls touch each other; & have a game in which they alternately throw one hand towards each other, closing it quickly & repeating something, at the same time throwing down a bit of stick from several which they hold in the other hand;[1] besides some others, as repeating the numbers by pairs, at each time leaving out the first & taking in another &c. The Children have games peculiar to themselves as throwing up four, five or even six balls so dexterously that they catch them successivily & have never more than one in the hand at the same time, which is chiefly practis'd by the girls. The boys walk with a string drawn through half a Cocoa nut shell on which they put the opening between the great toe and next at the convex part, and hauling up the string take long strides as we do with stilts. They cut a string exactly in the same way as we do a garter, and take off one in various ways from the fingers,[2] with several other things of that kind which differ little from the pastimes of our boys.

We have not yet been able to discover whether their marriages are made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, but it is certain that amongst the bulk of the people Monogamy is the mode of men & women living together, and though the superior sort have commonly several women it does not appear that Polygamy is allow'd to any but their king, though the others are undoubtedly intended to supply the place of several.[3] It seems however of less consequence that the marriages should be rigidly binding where the free intercourse between the sexes amongst the younger sort is not at all reckoned criminal but rather encourag'd. The men in these cases seem to be the proper judges of what ought to be done, and often do not spend much of their time in a tender courtship, a circumstance which might be reckon'd a great rudeness did not the women on their side encourage it by a ready compliance. In short both men and women seem to have little knowledge of what we call delicacy in Amours; they rather seem to think it unnatural to suppress an appetite originally implanted in them perhaps for the same purposes as hunger or thirst, and consequently make it often a topic of public conversation, or what is more indecent in our judgment, have been seen to cool the ardour of their mutual inclinations before the eyes of many spectators. They seem to imagine that the same freedom prevails amongst other nations, at least with respect to us, for they never

[1] Mariner calls this game 'liagi', and says it is 'the first and most important of all Tongan games'; his description is in II, pp. 221–2. *Liaki* means to swing, toss, or fling, but does not now seem to be applied to a game.

[2] Cat's cradle—Tongan *matoniatakupenga*—is widespread in the Pacific.

[3] *though the others . . . several*: it is difficult to see what precisely Anderson means by this.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

142 The Women are in general handsome tho' many among them somewhat masculine, & it was the general Opinion that in female softness & Delicacy they were excelled by the Otaheite Ladies, who from being more covered are of a fairer Complexion; however we saw great Numbers of Girls here as beautiful or more so than any at Otaheite & who in Symmetry & proportion might dispute the palm with any women under the Sun. They wear much the same kind of Clothing as the men & wear necklaces of Shells and the Legs of Fowls & some made of a small black Seed.[1] They are clothed from the Waist to the Knees & all the other parts are exposed. The lower Class of young women have their Hair cut short, while those of the Agee order wear it long & flowing down their Shoulders which had a graceful and a truly elegant Appearance, & made us lament that the superstitious Custom of mourning for the dead should deprive a young Creature as beautiful as Venus herself of her chief Ornament, which is always the Case on the Death of the Chiefs or their own Relations. As to modesty these women have no more Claim to it than the Otaheiteans, we have had on board the ships large Companies of them dancing stark naked, at the same time using the most lascivious Gestures.[2] These Agee Girls, as we called them, never came on board the Ships, nor were their favours to be purchased for Hatchets or any thing else that we had, they are kept inviolate for the Chiefs who marry them. After lying in the women stain their bodies & faces of a yellow Colour[3] & this they continue to do for a certain time. Polygamy seems to be allowed at these Islands to the Chiefs some of whom had four or five wives, tho' it is probable that none but those of the first Consequence are allowed as many, the generality of the people having only one.

We saw 4 or 5 white people at these Islands and at Annamooka a Child of about a year old, they are all much alike in their Persons & appearance, all small slender people with very weak eyes that can hardly bear the light; their Skin where it is not covered is rough & cracked & of a red Colour that under their Cloaths is exactly like the skin of an European. It is the Opinion of some that the whiteness of the Skin is occasioned by a Distemper, if it be so it is a distemper that is born with them; it is certain that they have a very puny sickly appearance & are altogether a disagreeable ugly looking people. We saw no Women of this Colour.

[1] The berries of the Poro, *Solanum nigrum*.

[2] The foregoing sentence is an insertion in the MS; hence the dislocation in the sense of the following one.

[3] A mixture of turmeric and oil was used. It was supposed to aid the mother's flow of milk. The child was painted similarly.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 Prince, there was an Entertainment of boxing and wrestling, which they
644 gave us to understand was the Conclusion of the business altogether.
651 The Purport of this Ceremony seems to me nothing more or less than the Nobles paying their Allegiance to the Heir apparent of the Crown; the Samples offer'd him, I imagine are purposed as Intimations of their future Intentions of supplying him with those Matters, and if we understood them right, after having receiv'd these Acknowledgements and promises of future Services from all the Principals of the Nation, he was renderd consequential enough to set at Table with his Father. Thus having seen the Ceremony through we return'd to the Ships on the Evening of the 9th.

[782] This Ceremony in honour of the young Prince they call Anāche:[1] they tell us there is to be another in two Months, which they say will be a very superb one; in the Course of it, there are to be 10 Men sacrific'd before his young Highness; now whether these are intended as sacrifices to their Gods to implore their Protection and blessings for the young Gentleman or thro' what other principal I cou'd not learn, and whether it may not be altogether fabulous I cannot pretend to say; but it was told me so seriously by many of them that I declare I firmly believe it; no one at all contradicted it when question'd upon the Subject, but spoke as familiarly of it, as tho' it was a matter fully settled and determin'd some time since.

175 These People in their persons surpass in beauty every Nation I ever yet
142 met with, excepting the Natives of the Marquesas which Isles we visited in the course of our last Voyage; that perfect proportion of the Limbs which is universal among them is admirable; there are few that exceed 6 Feet, but then you scarcely ever see an undersiz'd Man, by which means I think they generally run stouter than Europeans: there was not a single deform'd Man seen, and among the many thousands we were at different times associated with, we saw exceeding few Exceptions to that exact Symmetry and proportion in which they seem so peculiarly bless'd.

[146] The Agee's are some of them rather overloaded with flesh, but all the rest were in fine Order, and there were none so poor, but their Countenances bespoke both a plentifull and salutary Diet. The Women are as
175 perfectly form'd as the Men, they are in general handsome but I think
142 somewhat masculine; Chastity is by no means the reigning Virtue of these Isles, the good Lasses readily contributed their Share to our Entertain-
831 ment, and render'd our Bill of Fare compleat, but I am very sorry to have
164 Occasion to observe that at our arrival this time, we found them cursed with Venereal Taints; this of all the Curses that coud befall them is the worst; where connexions between the Sexes are so unlimited as they are here, it is indeed a heavy misfortune.

175 Their Hair is strong, and in general originally black, but they have a
302 method of dressing it with a compound of Lime & some other Materials which changes it to half a dozen different colours, so that you shall see on
[142] the same head, hair of various hues, nay the same hair from its root to its Point will be of 2 or 3 distinct colours. I saw among the young Nobility

[1] *inasi.*

[455 cont.]
We likewise found a new musical instrument, consisting of eight, nine, or ten slender reeds, about nine inches long, joined to each other by some fibres of coco-nut core. The length of its reeds [456] seldom varied much, and the long and short ones were placed promiscuously; a notch was formed at the top of each, and the method of playing was only to slide the instrument backwards and forwards along the lips. It had commonly not above four or five different notes, and we never met with one which included a whole octave. Its resemblance to the syrinx, or Pan's flute of the civilized Greeks, dignified it much more than any music which it contained. From the method of playing it, the lovers of music will easily conceive that this divine art is entirely in its infancy among the inhabitants. The vocal part, which is the same as we had already observed it at Ea-oowhe, is very far from being unharmonious, and the women beat time to it by snapping their fingers very exactly; but its whole extent is only of four notes, and therefore cannot admit of any variety. They had likewise a flute of a bamboo-reed, nearly of the thickness of a German flute, which they played with the nostrils, like the Taheitians. They commonly had ornamented it with various little figures, burnt in, and pierced four or five holes in it, whereas the Taheitian flute had but three in all. The method of ornamenting wood by burning figures into it, was frequently observed in their bowls and various other utensils.

It was near sun-set when we returned on board with our collection, and found the vessels still surrounded by many canoes, and the natives swimming about extremely [457] vociferous. Among them were a considerable number of women, who wantoned in the water like amphibious creatures,

[457 cont.]

175 609 171 831 175 609 836 [837] 175 836 000 175 609

and were easily persuaded to come on board, perfectly naked, without professing greater chastity than the common women at Taheitee, and the Society Isles. Our seamen took advantage of their disposition, and once more offered to our eyes a scene worthy of the Cyprian temples. A shirt, a small piece of cloth, nay a few beads, were sometimes sufficient temptations. for which some of the women of Tonga-Tabboo, prostituted themselves without any sense of shame. This lubricity was, however, very far from being general, and we had reason to believe that not a single married woman was guilty of infidelity. If we had been acquainted with the distinction of ranks as at Taheitee, it is highly probable, that we should have observed no other prostitutes than such as belonged to the lowest class of people. Still it remains an unaccountable singularity in the character of the nations of this part of our globe, that they suffer any of their unmarried women to admit the promiscuous embraces of a multitude of lovers. Can they imagine, that after giving such an unlimited course to the impulses of nature, they will make better wives, than the innocent and the chaste? But it is in vain that we endeavour to find reasons for the arbitrary whims of mankind. Their opinions in respect of the sex in particular, have been infinitely various in all ages and countries. [458] In some parts of India, no man of consequence will condescend to marry a virgin; in Europe she who has lost that character is universally rejected. Turks, Arabs, Tartars, and Russians are jealous even of an imaginary characteristic of virginity, which the native of Malabar bestows upon his Idol.

None of these women ventured to stay on board after sun-set, but returned to the shore to pass the night, like the greater part

[176 cont.]

islanders, had likewise been plentifully sold, especially by several people who came in large double sailing canoes from the neighbouring islands. While we were at dinner, one of our shipmates was observed on shore, surrounded by a great croud of natives; but no further notice was taken of him, though he made signals for a boat. One of our trading boats, which was sent ashore as soon as the crew had dined, came near the place where he was stationed, and took him on board. It proved to be our surgeon, Mr. Patton, who had been in the most imminent danger of losing his life, by being carelessly left upon the island without support. From his account it is very plain, that even among these kind and well disposed people, there were some villains who greatly resembled the wretches that infest our civilized countries. He had left the landing place, and engaging a single native in his service for a few beads, had rambled over great part of the island. His success in shooting was considerable; the native carried eleven ducks, with which he returned to the sandy cove. The boats having already left that place, he was something disconcerted, and the croud pressed about him, conscious that he was in their power. He walked therefore to the rocky shore, just abreast of the ship, where our people saw him. In going thither, the man who carried [177] the ducks endeavoured to drop some of them; but Mr. Patton luckily turning about at that moment, he picked them up again. The croud now pressed close about him, and several of the men threatened him with jagged spears, whilst nothing but the appearance of his fowling-piece kept them in awe. Several women were set on by the men, to draw him off his guard, by a thousand lascivious gestures and attitudes; but his situation was of too serious a nature to permit him to attend to them. After some time

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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These glowing reports soon made Tonga a popular port of call for shipping. Traders of all kinds called for provisions, both before and after the establishment of the Wesleyan mission.

In general, the traders and missionaries did not get on well, but there were a few traders who were convinced that the work of the missionaries was definitely advantageous to trade and commerce. Many of these were sons of missionaries who had been born or brought up in the islands. These men maintained good relations with both the missionaries and native leaders, particularly those who had accepted Christianity through the work of the Protestant missionaries, and mutual respect, friendship and help prevailed among them. They did their utmost to assist the work of missionaries, who naturally reciprocated.

Samuel Pinder Henry, a trader son of a missionary in Tahiti, was friendly with the Tu'i Kanokupolu Siosaia Aleamotu'a of Tonga. Arrangements were made with Aleamotu'a to obtain some Tongans to accompany Henry to the New Hebrides to cut sandalwood. Sickness prevented Henry from joining his vessel which called for the men. Unknown to him, his crew had brought some prostitutes in the ship from New Zealand. When the King, who had already become a convert, found this out, he decided to prevent the Tongans from boarding the vessel. However, Nathaniel Turner, who was acquainted with Henry and knew of his reputation for assisting missionaries throughout the islands, persuaded Aleamotu'a not to break his promise and thereby penalise Henry for the misconduct of his crew. He pleaded that it would have been a different matter if Henry himself had been aboard the vessel. The King was eventually persuaded to drop his objections and the Tongans were permitted to join the ship (N. Turner to Committee, 15 May 1829, WMMS 1818-36, item A2835).

Such dissensions as did take place between some of the traders and the missionaries may be attributed to a number of factors. Certain missionaries were worried about the effects of trade upon their converts:

> The influence of trade is a source of serious apprehension to us. The people have a strong desire for our style of dress. Showy and expensive dress 'fakapapalagi' is the height of their highest aspirations. This is attended with many evils—the more they expend in dress the less

/20 cont./

181 434 435 trouble getting twice the amount of tobacco for their money; in the Ha'apai group the Tongans who start businesses on their island "forget" the price of individual goods, which are then often sold for considerably less than on the main island.

181 197 439 Toward the European, too, the Tongan is good-natured, generous and hospitable; however, among the natives who have many dealings with Europeans there are a few who try to exploit and overcharge the Whites--usually in an inept manner, to be sure. Yet it seems noteworthy that the Tongans of the small islands, amid the flood of money of the postwar period and in view of their great interest in European goods, have not succumbed to copra- and money-fever. The reasons for this are less self-discipline and will power than the relatively small natural needs, as well as the basic Tongan trait of imperturbable equanimity.

181 These natives have also kept their cheerfulness--apparently undiminished. (13)

[113) 13. See also G. Forster, loc. cit. IV, p. 359; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux. ed. by M. Rossel. vol. I. Paris 1808, p. 308/309; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative of the United States exploring expedition /cited in English/. vol. III. London 1845. p. 26; H.N. Moseley, Notes by a naturalist /cited in English/. London 1879. p. 287.

181 522 [831) The majority of Tonga have a strong sense of humor. Naturally, boys and girls are particularly cheerful and merry, even to the point of boisterousness. The older ones, while observing a certain self-control and restraint, are not much different, so that even in between the lamentations of a cortege a cheerful comment accompanied by a fleeting smile may by noted. Tongan humor often satisfies European demands, frequently it is rather simple and silly for the serious White, and sometimes it leaves nothing to be desired in the way of

/20 cont./

sexual explicitness. (14)

14. Cf. even J. Martin loc. cit. II. p. 177. Lighthearted--and [capable of being] untroubled--that is the impression the observer has to this day, of the majority of Tongans.

/21/ Courtesy within the village community /15/

15. See also Farmer, loc. cit. p. 150.

on the smaller islands has scarcely diminished. In a place like Nuku'alofa, however, because of the larger number of people (about 5000 inhabitants) and the gradual urbanization (motor traffic, shops, etc.) a certain measure of estrangement has taken place, though any Tongan inhabitant can come uninvited to any other for a meal. Here one may notice that in general only the old people greet a European passing by. A certain relaxation of good manners, especially among the young Tongans in the major towns, is largely attributed to the influence of the foreign troops stationed on Tongatapu during the last war, (16)

16. The negative influence of foreign troops through money surplus, in part bad personal examples and incitement to acts which were unknown to the Tongans or seemed morally intolerable (selling and usury where formerly one gave and made presents, theft, i.e. procuring something in devious ways, drinking and methods of producing alcohol, prostitution).

particularly the presently rather frequent theft. (17)

17. At the time of foreign troops you could often get many things effortlessly; some Tongans with "freer" attitudes thus tend to obtain, likewise "effortlessly," desired articles where a purchase or at least a request is customary.

However, such property offences have by no means become widespread even in a seaport like Nuku'alofa (18)

18. The only rooming house in Nuku'alofa has unlocked rooms and closets!

/21 cont./

181 and can not be compared to conditions in Europe. The natives of the
685 small villages are mostly very honest, (19)

181 123 685 19. During the author's stay on the islands and on numerous boat trips not a single article was stolen from his numerous and often open pieces of luggage; three coins that he was unaware of having lost on a boat trip were immediately returned to him. This behavior of the natives is in sharp contrast to the old sources (for example, J. Cook, loc, cit. p. 278/ 279; Voyage de Dentrecasteaux, loc. cit. p. 307/ 308; E.A.W. von Zimmermann, Australien ···nebst einer allgemeinen Darstellung des grossen Ozeans /Australia and a general description of the Pacific/ vol. I part 2. Hamburg 1810. p. 636) which emphasize the tendency of Tongans to steal from Europeans. In early times the powerful chiefs were probably a driving force in these offences, also sometimes offered the thiefs protection, and the widespread lust for the new European articles was very great and not yet suppressed by the influence of mission and government authority.

181 though now and then there are complaints about thefts of pigs and
685 plantation thefts. As a rule, these are the only property offences in some places.

181 The sensuality characteristic of Polynesians (together with
831 rather free attitudes towards sexual questions) which early observers, sometimes with certain reservations, also attributed to the Tongans (20)

(113) 20. For example, in A. Montanus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld /The new and unknown world/. Amsterdam 1671 p. 580; G. Forster, loc, cit. IV. p. 344.

is even today, despite 130 years of intensive and largely puritanical mission work, an essential characteristic of Tongan nature. (21)

21. For details see the chapter Liebesleben /Love life/ p. 106 ff.

/21 cont./

181 The presence of troops on Tongatapu for many years of course had an
197 adverse effect, and these influences fanned out from the main island
831 to the smaller islands. However, it must be said that even today numerous marriages, at least on the /22/ part of the wife, are strictly adhered to (22)

22. Mentioned already in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 167 ff.

and that they attach great importance, despite a certain freedom of premarital relations, to the chastity of marriageable girls. (23)

23. See p. 106 ff.

181 Measured by a Central European standard the morality of the Tongan
577 women is higher than that of the Tahiti women. (24)
831

24. According to observations of the author in Tonga and Tahiti.

181 Their special love of their country--together with a strong
823 feeling for the beauties of nature (25)--

25. For example, Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 301 ff., already mentions it.

has remained a noteworthy aspect of Tongan character, despite their great interest in distant countries about which the islanders are now learning, and despite the obvious fascination with the expanded Tongan seaports. Their deeply rooted feeling for their native land is such that, for example, many Tongans of the small islands in the Ha'apai group, where the land is no longer adequate to feed the growing population comfortably, prefer, despite many government recommendations, to remain in their villages on their island, instead of going to the main
533 island where they could obtain sufficient and good land. This love of their native land is also reflected in the songs composed nowadays by the Tongans, more than half of which extol their island landscapes. The seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu, despite their relative accessability--numerous native cutters cross the Archipelago daily--and

/54 cont./

older ones and 25 younger ones) wore a vala, whereas nine (one older and eight younger ones) dispensed with it. A similar count in the small village of Fungamisi, which borders on the urban seaport of Neiafu/Vava'u, showed 20 Tongan women (eleven older and nine younger ones) with the vala and five (two older and three younger ones) without it.

In compliance with the wishes of early missionaries, no Tongan woman is now seen in public with naked breasts. Even ten-year-old girls bathe fully dressed. However, in the villages of the small islands young women and girls still work in their huts with naked torsos, and some of the village women's naked breasts thrust through torn undershirts and tattered blouses probably have a more provocative effect on the male inhabitants than did the natural, unclothed female torso of former days. For, the well-meaning puritanical missionaries were unable to go on providing for the constant supply of costly, full covering. Since the Tongan woman scarcely knows how to take care of her clothes--she will actually go into the bush wearing a new silk dress--and cannot keep acquiring new ones, the female everyday clothing on the small islands is often quite untidy. Things are better in the seaports, and the Sunday-best of Tongan women throughout the Archipelago is pretty immaculate. For church, festivals, etc., women wear a ta'o-vala (like the male population) over their dresses; often this is also replaced by the lighter ta'o-vala kie-kie (136)

136. The ta'o-vala kie-kie is a narrow belt plaited of strips of pandanus leaves (lou tofua-like) with a black design, and with pendant strips plaited in the same way. It was "invented" some years ago as the colleges and soon became popular with women, and sometimes also men. See p. 308-310 for how it is made.

and a bast belt, the mana fau,(137)